THE

## Ld Bishop of Oxford VINDICATED

From the Abuse of a

## SPEECH

Lately Published under

His Lordship's Name.



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Mong the several ill Effects of an unrestrained Liberty of the Press, I take it to be none of the least, that the Printers by this means have it in their Power, to print what Speeches they please, under whatsoever the most venerable Names. Infomuch that not only inferior Writers, but even those of the Episcopal Order, cannot escape the presixing their Names to Speeches every

way unworthy of their facred Character, and which one would not willingly believe could come from any in that high Station. How grofly my Lord Bishop of Sarum has from time to time been exposed in this respect, has been endeavoured to be shewn more than once, and may be again in due time.

But my present Business is in relation to another like worthy and primitive Presate, the Lord Bishop of Oxon; under whose Name is lately published a Paper, entituled, The Bishop of Oxford's Speech in the House of Lords, on the First Article of the Impeachment of Henry Sacheverell, D. D. But that it was spoken by his Lordship, as is pretended, at least as here published, credat Judeus Apella. The Inconsistencies in it are too visible for any who has a true Reverence for his Lordship's Name or Character, to suppose they could proceed from his Lordship as the Author of them.

And to make good this Affertion, I shall insist only upon two particular Paragraphs, so very ill agreeing with each other, that it is not easie to conceive how they could both drop from his Lordship's Mouth; but especially that after some Months Consideration he could think fit to send them both together to the Press. His Lordship was indeed thought several Years since, at his going to Worcester, to have been too inconsiderate in the Choice of the first Text he preached

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upon in that Cathedral; viz. Habak. 1. 13. Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou then upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? And some of his Auditors were not a little furprifed at the hearing of it, and could not forbear reflecting upon the Case of his truly Learned and Reverend Predecessor in that Station. But it is hard however to imagine, that his Lordship should so strangely forget himself at this time, as he is made to do in this Speech. In the Beginning whereof he justly condemns the Unfairness of those (who like the Author of the late malicious and scandalous Catechism, catch at bits and scraps of Authors, whereby to put a false Gloss upon their Doctrines; and yet not long after is made to quote Bishop Billon, with all the Unfairness that is before so justly condemned. Which is such a Selfcontradiction, as one of a far lower Station would be exceedingly ashamed to be found guilty of.

The Speech (so called) begins thus; "My Lords, some of this Bench are necessarily called up, by Words which fell from the Noble Lord who spake third in this De-bate, who was pleased to mention, among other strange things, Bishops voting contrary to their Doctrines. The Opinions of several of the Reverend Prelates have been A 3 "read

" read before your Lordships in Westminster " Hall. They were first quoted by the Coun-" cil for the Defendant, and by their Order " read in such partial and unfair manner, " that if I may be allowed to use any other " Author after the same way, to take a na-" ked Proposition out of his Book, and not " consider the Coherence or Dependence of " the Words, and bow it may be explained " or limited in other places; To READ JUST SO FAR AS MAY SERVE MY PURPOSE , " AND STOP WHEN ANY THING FOL-" LOWS THAT MAY SET THE MATTER IN " A JUST LIGHT. I dare undertake to make " any Author Speak on which-ever side of the " Question I please.

Now after this fo plain a Condemnation of fuch partial Proceeding, is it possible to conceive, that a Person of far less Consideration than my Lord Bishop of Oxon, could, in the Compass of a few Pages, so entirely forget himself, as to fall into the same Fault he here condemns? How worthy of Blame in this respect any of the Doctor's Council might be, I will not pretend to fay, not having yet feen their Pleadings. But thus much I am fure of, that whether they were guilty of the Abuse thus charged upon them, or not, I never faw a Writer in my whole Life chargeable with it, if this Speechmaker he not fo to a great degree; as every one will find who will but cast his Eve upon the 8th Page of his Speech, and will moremoreover be at the pains of looking into the Book whence the Passage there referred to is taken.

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The Book is Bishop Bilson's, and as himfelf there declares, is entituled, The true Difference between Christian Subjection, and Unchristian Rebellion. It is written, as he proceeds, by way of Dialogue, between a Christian whom the Author calls Theophilus. and a Fefuit whom he calls Philander. And his Quotation out of it is this. Theophilus the Christian says; "I busie not my self in " other Mens Commonwealths, as you (the Jesuits) do, neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist to be Rebels: Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the People may plead their Right against their Prince, and not be charged " with Rebellion. Philander the Jefuit asks, As when for Example? Theophilus the Christian replies thus, " If a Prince Shall " go about to subjett his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or change the Form of the " Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, " or neglett the Laws established, by the " common Consent of Prince and People, to " execute his own Pleasure; in these and " other Cases which might be named; if the " Nobles and Commons join together to de-" fend their ancient and accustomed Liberties; "Regiment, and Laws, they may not well be " accounted Rebels.

Here the Speech-maker feems to have got Bishop Bilson clearly on his side, in the Case of Refistance upon urgent Occasions; and hereupon he triumphs, and tells us, "The " Book is said in the Title Page to bave " been perused and allowed by publick Au-" thority; that it was written by a great Man, Dr. Bilson, then Warden of Winchester College; was printed at Oxford by " the University Printer, and dedicated to " Queen Elizabeth, and the Author was af-" terwards made Bishop of Winchester, But then I must add, that he had taken care to recite all that was for his purpose, and both to begin and end in his proper place. For had he proceeded one step farther, or had he looked but a few Lines backward, he had spoiled all. For the very next Paragraphs, both the preceding and the following, declare that Refistance the Bishop is here so favourable to, to be fuch only as the Laws of the Land allow of; and confequently that where the Laws forbid all Refiltance, as our Laws do, there he has nothing to fay for it. This the Speech-maker either knew, or he did not know it. If he did not know it, it was prefumptuously enough done, and with sufficient Disrespect to the Bishop of Oxford, to represent his Lordship as ignorant as himself. If he did know it, it was yet far worse to run upon the very-Fault with which he had taxed Doctor Sacheverell's Council, and which he had fo feverely

verely censured in the very Entrance of his Speech.

The Words immediately following in Bishop Bilson are these sin the third part of his Christian Subjection. p. 520.] " Phil. You. denied that even now, when I did urge " it. Theoph. I denied that Bishops had " Authority to prescribe Conditions to Kings, " when they crowned them; but I never de-" nied that the People might preserve the "Foundation, Freedom, and Form of their " Commonwealth, which they foreprised when " they first consented to have a King. Phil. I. " remember you were resolute that Subjects " might not resist their Princes for any re-" spects, but now you flake. Theoph. As I " faid then, so I say now, the Law of God givetb no Man leave to resist his Prince: but I never said that Kingdoms and Commonwealths might not proportion their States. " as they thought best by their publick Laws, which afterwards the Princes themselves may not violate. By Superior Powers or-dained of God, we understand not only " Princes, but all Politick States and Re-" giments, somewhere the People, somewhere the Nobles, having the same Interest to " the Sword that Princes have in their Kingdoms: and in Kingdoms, where Princes " bear Rule, by the Sword we do not mean " the Prince's private Will against his Laws; " but his Precept derived from his Laws, " and agreeing with bis Laws: which, though " it

it be wicked, yet may it not be resisted of any Subject with armed Violence. Mary, when Princes offer their Subjects not fuffice but Force, and despise all Laws to practise their Lusts; not every, nor any private Man may take the Sword to redress the Prince: but if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles as next to the King, to assist him in doing Right, and withold him from doing Wrong, then be they licensed by Man's Law, so not prohibited by God's, to interpose themselves for the Saseguard of Equity, and Innocency; and by all lawful and needful means to procure the Prince to be reformed; But in no case Deprived where the Scepter is inherent.

These are the Words immediately following those quoted in the Speech. And to the same purpose are those immediately foregoing. "For my part, says Theophilus, I must confess, that except the Laws of these Realms do permit the People to stand on their Right, if the Prince would offer that Wrong, I dare not allow their Arms. Phil. What their Laws permit I know not, I am sure in the mean time they resist. Theoph. And we, because we do not exactly know what their Laws permit, see no reason to condemn their Doings, without bearing their Answer. Phil. Think you their Laws permit them to rebel? Theoph. I busic not my self, &c. Nothing

thing can be more plain than that the Bishop here lays the whole Stress of his Opinion upon the Laws of the Land. Where the Laws have not made Provision for Refistance in case of imminent Danger from the Prince's Male-Administration, he allows of no Refifting him; and in an Hereditary Kingdom upon no account admits of Depoling him. Which is fo diametrically opposite to the Speech maker's Design, that every one may fee he had fufficient reason to confine himself to the Words cited by him. and not to take the least notice, either of those that went immediately before, or that immediately followed after. But how shamefully then does he condemn himself, when he condemns those who take a naked Proposition out of a Book, without considering the Coherence or Dependence of the Words, and how it may be explained or limited in other places. (I add even in the very fame place) reading just so far as may serve their purpose, and stopping when any thing follows that may fet the matter in a just Light? And what a high Indignity is it to my Lord of Oxford to have fuch a piece of Artifice, fo foul a Prevarication fixed upon his Lordship? As if his Lordship could possibly be guilty of such notorious Infincerity, as would make an Author speak of which-ever side of the Question be pleases.

This is so palpably gross and abusive, that the Author must undeniably have left himself without without Excuse. Nor can he have any thing to plead for himself, unless it shall appear that our Laws are for Resistance. And therefore that it may be shewn, whether they are, or no, I shall only recite two or three particular Passages out of them, and then leave the Reader to judge whether the Usage of this Bishop be not such as loudly called for a speedy Vindication of him.

In the Statute of Treasons, 25 Ed. 3. c. 2. Not only Compassing or Imagining the Death of the King is declared to be Treason; but It a Wan voes levy War against our Low the King in his Realm, of he adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid and Comfort in the Realm of elsewhere.

The Act of Attainder of Ol. Cromwell, and divers others, 12 Car. 2. c. 30. declares. That by the undoubted and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, not the Commons, not both togethers in Parliaments of out of Parliament, not the People collectively not representatively, not any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, of ought to have any coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.

And again, in the Act for settling the Militia, 13 Car. 2. c. 6. are these Words, Forasmuch much as within all his Majelly's Realms and Dominions, the fole suppeme Hospernment, Command, and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forces of Strength is, and by the Laws of England ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majelly and his Royal Predecessors kings and Ducens of England; and that both, or either of the Poules of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; nor can, nor lawfully may raise or levy any War Diffensive or Defensive [I would defire the Speech-maker to observe that word Defensive] against his Majelly, his Peirs, or lawful Successors, &c.

This is the undoubted Doctrine of our Statute Book; not to infift upon what our Common Law teaches likewise to the same effect. And after this, if this doughty Speech-maker. with all the Affistance he can get, shall ever be able to prove that our Laws are for Refistance, I will own that Bishop Bilson was for it too; that my Lord Bishop of Oxon might be the Author of this Speech, and that I have wrongfully suspected the Printer to be the Forger of it. But then no lefs, on the contrary, if these Laws allow of no manner of Resistance, not so much as a Defensive War, in case of an Invasion of the People's Rights, if they are so far from impowering any (as Bishop Bilson supposes some other Laws to have done in the Case by him put) to coerce the the King (or Queen) that they positively declare against it, then must the Citation from that Bishop be owned to be produced in flat Contradiction to the first Paragraph of the Speech; as I undertook to shew, and I hope have effectually done it.

There are feveral other Passages in this Speech that justly deserve to be animadverted upon; as for instance, that the Scriptures do not tell us how far we must obey and be subjed, p. 4. though they do fay we may not refift upon penalty of DAMNATION; the Cafe of a Child's putting by his Father's Pass and difarming him, p. 5. which by no means comes up to that of Deposing a Prince, and thereby nor only difarming him, but divefting him of of all he has; the Sovereign Power of Parliaments, ibid. which is understood exclusive of the King (or Queen) is by no means reconcileable to our Constitution and Laws; the Cases relating to Queen Elizabeth, King Fames I. and King Charles I. p. 6, 7. which have been confidered, and had their Answer many Years fince; that weak Argument (if it may be called one) p. 9. that if it be unlawful to resist in any case what soever, there is no Distinction of Governments, that is, of Absolute and Limited, or at least it is only a nominal not a real Difference; whereas any one that enquires into the English Laws will eafily see the contrary; the wrong turn given to the preaching up the Doctrine of Non-Refistance at this time, p. 11. there being no fitter time for doing this, than when

when so many Endeavours are used to discountenance and preach it down; that most unaccountable Schism mentioned, p. 13. and charged where it does not lie; and lastly, that preaching the truly Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance, is practising in State-matters, p. 16. which would make our Saviour and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians and Fathers of the Church, as well as the generality of our own most celebrated Divines, Practisers in State-Matters, no less than Dr. Sacheverell.

All these Passages, I say, and perhaps some more, would deserve to be particularly considered, in order to his Lordship's farther Vindication; and possibly may some other time. But I am not willing to give either the Reader or my self any farther trouble at present.

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